

12

ADDRESSES

UPON THE OCCASION OF THE

RECEPTION

OF

HENRY M. HOYT,

GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA,

BY THE

Union League of Philadelphia,

APRIL 15TH, 1879.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRESS OF HENRY B. ASHMEAD,
1102 AND 1104 SANSOM STREET.

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At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Union League held on Tuesday evening, March 11th, 1879, it was resolved to tender Governor Henry M. Hoyt a Reception on such an evening as would be agreeable to him: and a Committee of nine Directors was appointed, consisting of Edwin N. Benson, A. E. Borie, James L. Claghorn, Strickland Kneass, Edwin H. Fittler, John L. Lawson, Chas. H. Cramp, William E. Littleton and Winthrop Smith, with power to add to their number from the membership of the club, and act as a General Committee of Arrangements.

At the first meeting of the Committee, Edwin N. Benson was elected Chairman, William E. Littleton, Secretary, and Winthrop Smith, Treasurer; and for the perfection of details in management, additional members were elected, and sub-committees appointed as follows:—

COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS.

[AUTHORIZED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE UNION LEAGUE.]

EDWIN N. BENSON, *Chairman.*

A. E. BORIE,
JAMES L. CLAGHORN,
STRICKLAND KNEASS,
EDWIN H. FITLER,
JNO. L. LAWSON,
WILLIAM McMICHAEL,
JOHN L. HILL,
CHARLES K. IDE,
JNO. H. MICHENER,
ROBERT D. COXE,
CHAS. E. SMITH,
JAS. H. CAMPBELL,
WM. S. STOKLEY,
A. J. DREXEL,
JOEL J. BAILY,
WM. R. LEEDS,
F. M. BROOKE,
CHAS. H. CRAMP,
WINTHOP SMITH,

Treasurer.

JOSEPH MOORE, JR.,
JAMES B. AGNEW,
JAMES McMANES,
WM. ELLIOTT,
S. A. CALDWELL,
JAC. H. BURROUGHS,
THOS. S. HARRISON,
LEWIS WALN SMITH,
GEORGE S. FOX,
JOS. F. TOBIAS,
A. LOUDON SNOWDEN,
ALEXANDER P. COLESBERRY,
JOHN WRIGHT,
P. A. B. WIDENER,
COL. THEO. E. WEIDERSHEIM,
SAMUEL BELL,
J. PRICE WETHERILL,
ROBT. REED,
WM. E. LITTLETON,

Secretary.

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE.

EDWIN H. FITLER, *Chairman.*

JOEL J. BAILY,
JAMES McMANES,
ALEXANDER P. COLESBERRY,
EDWIN N. BENSON,

WM. R. LEEDS,
GEORGE S. FOX,
WM. E. LITTLETON,
WINTHROP SMITH,

J. PRICE WETHERILL.

COMMITTEE ON BANQUET AND WINES.

THOS. S. HARRISON, *Chairman.*

WM. S. STOKLEY,

JOS. F. TOBIAS,

WM. E. LITTLETON,

JOHN H. MICHENER,

S. A. CALDWELL.

COMMITTEE ON INVITED GUESTS.

LEWIS WALN SMITH, *Chairman.*

P. A. B. WIDENER,

JOSEPH MOORE, JR.,

JOEL J. BAILY,

WINTHROP SMITH,

CHAS. E. SMITH.

COMMITTEE ON MUSIC AND DECORATIONS.

COL. THEO. E. WEIDERSHEIM, *Chairman.*

JNO. L. LAWSON,

JOHN L. HILL,

F. M. BROOKE,

SAMUEL BELL,

JAS. H. CAMPBELL.

COMMITTEE ON PROGRAMME.

J. B. AGNEW, *Chairman.*

CHAS. K. IDE,

A. LOUDON SNOWDEN,

COL. THEO. E. WEIDERSHEIM,

WM. ELLIOTT,

ROBT. D. COXE.

The Governor having designated April 15th as acceptable to him, the reception took place on that evening at the Union League House.

By invitation of the Committee of Arrangements, the Veteran Corps First Regiment of Infantry, N. G. Pa., Col. James W. Latta, commanding, acted as the Governor's escort from the Continental Hotel to the Union League. On his arrival at the club house the Governor was informally welcomed by the President of the club, Hon. Geo. H. Boker, and the members of the League in large numbers were presented to him. The parlors of the League were crowded with many distinguished gentlemen who had been invited as guests to grace the occasion and give additional honor to the Governor and the Reception.

At the Banquet which followed, grace was said by Right Reverend M. A. De Wolfe Howe, Bishop of Central Pennsylvania, after which the following addresses were delivered.

ADDRESS OF HON. GEORGE H. BOKER

GOVERNOR HOYT:—It is my pleasant duty to-night to welcome you to the Union League in behalf of its members. You are the present representative of that line of the Governors of Pennsylvania which has existed in unbroken succession in its political faith since the foundation of our association. With the perpetuation of that line, and with the formation and the guidance of the political sentiment which made the work of our Governors and our Legislatures effective, we have had much to do ; and the times begin to look as though we must have much to do with the same matters in the future.

The Union League has never greatly concerned itself about minor politics. Local issues, nominations and appointments to office have been left to the discretion of our members as citizens. In such affairs we have not sought to impose an obligation upon our associates, either by the voice of a majority of our body or by that of the officers of the League. In grand politics, however—in those things which concern the nation or the State—we have never hesitated to act, and I trust that the day is far distant when the Union League shall stand idly by to see political wrong or folly hold a triumph either in the counsels of the nation or of the State. If the principles to defend which this association was formed ; for which we struggled through war and all its attendant calamities and horrors ; for which we won a victory that laid the land in blood and tears and partial ruin ; for the preservation of which, after our hard-won triumph was assured, we eagerly tendered peace to the conquered men, whom we would not regard as foes, on terms that were their

own rather than ours ; for which we refrained, and renounced, and forgave, and forgot—if these principles are again to be assailed, and by the very ingrates whom they once ground almost to powder, I can promise that the Union League will be ready once more to plunge into action, to make its fearless voice heard from one end of the land to the other, to make its influence felt in every department of politics that it can reach, and if the sorrowful need may be—which God avert!—that it will be equally prepared to gird on its armor and to marshal its armed legions as of old.

I cannot believe that the majority even of the Democratic Party of the North are without patriotism. They are our countrymen, and in some mysterious way they may believe that they love their country as we do. The first and supremest sentiment in all patriotism is that which impels us to preserve the integrity of the national territory at any sacrifice. You have but to glance at what France suffers for the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, to know that such a sentiment can never die, and to predict from it another war, longer and bloodier than that which cost her those provinces. When the war of the rebellion was upon us, it was not the rank and file of the Democratic Party who were disloyal. As a rule, it was but the party leaders, and not all of them, who were in sympathy with the would-be destroyers of the Union. Many a brave and patriotic Democrat shouldered his musket, and fought side by side with his Republican opponent for the preservation of the integrity of our common country. At that time, and to men such as these, the disunionists of the North dared not address themselves, dared not proffer to them the counsels that were burning for utterance in their false hearts, and which they hissed at one another in their nocturnal nests, when the fear of what they called the “mob” no longer beset their skulking fancies.

If the sincere Union men of the Democratic Party were convinced that the principles for which they fought during the rebellion were again in jeopardy, I believe that they would rise, as they rose before, and drive their self-appointed, disloyal leaders into an obscurity as dense and an impotency as absolute

as that which was their lot during the war for the Union. Men of all parties who have that one great bond, a love of the Union, to unite you in the hour of your country's danger, do you see no peril to the cause for which you fought in the future—in the near future, at your very door, even now upon you—while you are chattering over small issues, and, through them, raising into dangerous political power a class of men who are too weak for leadership, too disciplined for independent thought or action, and too servile not to obey any mandate that may be issued to them by the majority of their fellows in a party caucus? If you do not know of this peril, you are blind to what is passing at Washington—deaf to that familiar sound, the crack of the plantation whip, and you fail to understand the import of the measures with which the country is threatened. Reflect a little. Of the Democratic majority in Congress two-thirds of the whole are representatives of the South, of what they call the “Solid South,” the men of one idea, who, returning from their banishment, like the French Bourbons, have learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

These are the men who govern the Democratic Party, and through it will govern the country until the eyes of the loyal men are opened, and you teach these once more mistaken men that a Solid South means also a Solid North, and that the latter term implies and enforces the confusion and destruction of their cunning schemes. Remember, these are the same men who, at the beginning of the rebellion, told us that they would not live under the same government with us if we gave them a blank sheet of paper upon which to write their terms. They are changed in nothing save in this, they will now condescend to live with us if they may govern the country to their own taste; if we will serve them politically as their negroes served them domestically before the rebellion. Men of the North, what do you think of this convenient arrangement? What blood is in your veins that you do not rise to a man against the arrogant weaklings, and show them once again, if in another way, where abides the power of the nation, and whose is the right to rule? It is true that we have seen with sorrow how nimbly the Demo-

cratic leaders of the North have accepted the dishonorable proposition; with what a suddenness the hiss of the copperhead has changed into the fawning whine of the spaniel! Let us not be dismayed at the outlook. Let us not be astonished, as we were when the madness of treason glared from the guns that were levelled at Sumter, and anarchy sought to organize itself in a corner of Georgia, and thence to limp, with its travesty of a government, into the desecrated capital of the Mother of States. Have no fear for the consequences. The man still lives, not in his age, but in his very prime, who received Lee's sword at Appomattox; who understands the business which led up to that event as few soldiers, living or dead, have understood their vocation; and the lesson which he taught will not need to be repeated to this generation. I have no apprehension of war, nor even a breach of the peace, for a cause like this, if the Union men of the country will stand firmly upon the principles which led them victoriously through the rebellion.

We shall hear much of Southern war claims; of rights—acquired during the rebellion—to dip a thousand empty hands into the common Treasury of the United States. War claims! What war claim can a rebel in arms have, save to the loyal bullet that should end him and his claim together? Rights now for what he did then! What right over a coin in the treasury has he acquired by his acts, save for the dime that would buy him the halter of his hangman? We have fallen upon strange historical times indeed, if the winners of the game of war, which was forced upon them, should be compelled to pay the losses of both parties. You must not forget what are the dues of rebels under other forms of government than our own. They are certainly not absolute moral forgiveness, not amnesty nor restoration to civil rights, not high places in the government and seats in the country's councils; those dues were, and even in this age probably still would be, the drum-head court-martial, the deadly file, the unknown grave in the field, or the speedy trial by predetermined judges, the scaffold, and the eternal bed in the ditch of a fortress. There would be no escape from one or the other of these alternatives, among the most civilized

countries of Europe, unless in fortunate flight and an enforced and life-long exile. I believe that Mr. Davis so understood the matter on that morning when Colonel Wilson and his cavalry came upon the arch traitor, and spared him, to become the saint of the lost cause, as otherwise, with less mercy, he might have become its martyr.

It is not wise in us, at a time when the nation is practically ruled by the disbanded army of the rebellion, to stand idly by and see what they will do next. We did that in the days preceding the ordinance of secession, and dearly we paid for our lethargy. I believe that in those days a vigorous and overwhelmingly united action on the part of the North would have defeated the plans of the leaders of the treason. Alas for our political sagacity! Many of us loved our Southern brothers—many of us pitied them; many of us believed them to be wronged; none of us wished to harm them in any way. Nine-tenths of us, for one reason or another, were dough-faces, myself among the number. The precious time slipped by, one act of proud arrogance followed another, and an end came which we have all cause not to forget. If you are inclined to forget it, go to the populous necropolis of your city on Decoration Day, read over the legends upon the headstones that commemorate the fresh young bodies that but a few years ago were laid beneath the sod, and recommit the lesson to heart, and this time, in God's name, do not forget it!

I grant that at the end of the rebellion, under our form of government, nothing could be done but to leave in the hands of the South the duty of self-government. That course seems to have been inevitable. After we had committed the awful national iniquity of leaving four millions of poor, ignorant, powerless negroes, without the provision of land or of any kind of property to support them, to the tender mercies of their former owners, with no defence in their empty hands except the ballot, which they scarcely understood, and which, as time went by, they hardly dared to use, we could not hope for any great spread of our political principles amongst the Southern Commonwealths. However, we left them to govern themselves in

their own way ; and even now—for the reported negro exodus is brightening one side of the picture—I am not inclined to interfere with their States-rights as secured to them by the Constitution. Let them govern themselves ; only let them not attempt to govern us also if an array of votes will prevent it. I am content, too, that the Democrats of the North should, after their foolish kind, truckle to and do the dirty work of their Southern masters ; that is to say, as many of them as can endure that sort of degrading vassalage. I have firm faith in the common sense of the American, call him by what party name you will. I believe that as soon as it is publicly seen and understood to what measures the Democratic leaders are inclined to lend themselves, either such a storm of indignation will arise among the Union men of their own party as will appall them, and force them to stand by the will of the North, or the next election will sweep them, one after another, from political existence. Meanwhile the Executive branch of the government is ours, or ought to be ; and the provisions of the veto power may be interposed between us and national disgrace and present ruin.

-Too much firmness cannot be shown by the President at this crisis, and we look to his constitutional advisers to sustain and to strengthen him in an unfaltering course, sure as they will be of the overwhelming support of the country. In this condition of our national affairs, I appeal to you, men of the Union League, to remember your old traditions, to remember the work, and the kind of work, done by this association in the past, and to gird up your loins for some such work in the future. Add to your numbers ; call back to counsel the men who thought, from time to time, that their services were henceforth needless, and who therefore withdrew from your body. Fill up your treasury, start your printing presses afresh, and once more set at the task of educating the popular political mind up to your own standard of patriotism.

To you, Governor Hoyt, I need not appeal for sympathy with the sentiments which I have uttered on this occasion. I know that you are one with us in all that I have had the time

to say, and in more that might be said at this momentous crisis of our country. I know the metal of which you are made, and what ring that metal gives forth when it is smitten. You were baptized in fire at Fort Johnson, and you bore martyrdom for your faith in a Southern prison. We thank heaven that you lived to hear the tale of your life told to your own ears, and to receive from your grateful countrymen the highest honor that our state can bestow upon military and civic desert. We know where to find you when we may have occasion to look for you; and we shall feel, at the darkest hour, even without seeing, your presence, and step boldly forward, assured that our leader is before us, and that the voice which cheers us on is his.

Gentlemen of the Union League, I propose to you the health of our honored guest, Governor Henry Martyn Hoyt, and I ask you, in drinking it, to make this hall ring with three such cheers as went up in our old house when I rushed into our crowded quarters and cried, "Richmond is ours!"

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR HOYT.

When Governor Hoyt rose to respond he was greeted with repeated cheers, and amidst much enthusiasm spoke as follows:

SIR:—If I assumed indifference to the generous sentiments with which you have been pleased to introduce me here to-night, it would illy conceal my real feelings. You have offered me the highest evidence of your confidence in me, personally, and I shall not depreciate your hospitality nor prove my want of sincerity by disclaiming it. I shall take as terminating on myself, gratefully and proudly, some of the motives which prompted this gathering.

I shall advance a step in accounting for my presence here when it is attributed to the official relations I bear to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. What I have been, personally, what I am, has some public import in this assemblage. That I may fairly bear myself as Governor of this great State does concern you. The public relation gives you a claim to know what I am—to lay proper ground for your confidence; and it gives me a claim to your support and sympathy if deserved. Pennsylvania contains more than four millions of people, as happy, prosperous and contented as any like number on the earth. Every human avocation is pursued within her borders peacefully, protected by the laws of the land. Every institution of religion, of charity, of education—every form of proper social life—has free course. The Commonwealth illustrates the latest and highest achievement of the family of man—a government of constitution and laws as perfect as human nature can frame and execute them, complicated as the affairs of an empire,—simple as the affairs of the Republics of

Uri and Appenzell. Under these forms it has been the good fortune of most of us to have been born. By the traditions of my ancestry for a hundred years, I am a Pennsylvanian. By temperament and education I am, as I trust, a true son of Pennsylvania. I was taught to revere, to love, to believe in and to fight for these traditions. I am proud of the men and institutions of the State. To be less or to do less would be unworthy of its citizenship. How it happened that among all the eminent citizens of such a State, whose merits are so much greater than my own—among the many distinguished soldiers whose achievements were so immeasurably superior to my own—I ever came to be Governor of this great Commonwealth is not so plain to me. The good Book saith, “Promotion cometh neither from the East, nor from the West, nor from the South, but God is the Judge.” I reverently pray for such intelligence, justice and courage as shall hold me to the discharge of the duties of such “promotion”—honesty in the sight of Heaven and a free people. But, gentlemen, I beg now to say that I accept your courtesies and elegant hospitality in the name of the gallant dead, whose proud memories are sacredly cherished in your recollection; in the name of their surviving comrades whom you delight to honor; in the name of all patriotic citizens of our Union-loving Commonwealth. While I here return my thanks for the honor you do me as your fellow-citizen and as the representative of the State, I at the same time desire to bear testimony to the sympathy and honor in which I hold the movements and objects of your noble and far-famed organization. While from the first you represented and still represent the culture, the intelligence, the wealth and the patriotism of this grand metropolis, you are partisan not by express design, but only in consequence of your profound sympathy with the rights of man as man, and your profound interest in his happiness as your brother, in virtue of a common origin and a common destiny. You are the offspring of the war for the suppression of the slaveholding rebellion. Let me implore you to maintain your organization with its original design unchanged. The noblest things are prone to degenerate. You

will be exposed to the peril of the change from the rigorous, stern, martial, war-making body of the Union League of Philadelphia, into the pleasure-loving body of a social club. Nothing would impart to the enemies of the Federal Union so much pleasure as such a departure from the spirit and aim of your organization.

I know them by your name. You are leaguers—you are covenanters—pledged by your membership, as by an oath, to defend and maintain the Union and Constitution of your country. That Constitution is the creation, as it is the possession, of a union of States like Pennsylvania. It shields and protects forty millions of free men in the “pursuit of happiness.” It conforms in all essentials to the genius and purposes of freemen, pursuing the ends of a high civilization, the best the world has ever seen. It always must be made to conform to the genius and purposes of such a people. The States organized in virtue of this Constitution are a nation. This theory was established out of the mouths of those who founded it, and was finally and forever settled by the gage of battle. You once cried halt—in your career as business men and peaceful citizens—rested from your labors in fields, and shops, and banks, and market places, to vindicate these propositions in bloody and tearful war. If it need be, it is in you, and such as you, to vindicate them again. You prefer to go on with the mighty and benign machinery by which these millions are working out their destiny under Divine law. You are impatient that you are called on to discuss and settle abstract theories. You resent, as impertinent, the constant thrusting of destroyed heresies in your faces. Your league, as such, cares nothing for differences among men about tariff, and finances, and railroads, and churches; but in adhesion and fidelity to the State and nation which organizes your traffic, protects your homes, defends your religion and your consciences, you will brook no doubtful or neutral attitude. No mere professions, no varnish of pretended devotion, no vague and rhetorical loyalty, no heartless and high-sounding praises of the Union, can cheat you into trusting the traitor to the Union.

I know these movements and objects by these decorations and trappings; by the sacred effigies of the patriots and statesmen suspended from these walls; by the memories of heroes represented here in picture and statue, dead, but living in your souls—right, in a lofty and holy and absolute sense which it is blasphemy to claim for those who slew them.

I know them, because you hold yonder flag—the stars and stripes—as something more than the visible sign of authority, something more than a “strip of painted cloth to be run to a masthead.” It represents something more than your regard for a mass of legal precedents and traditions. It represents your unalterable devotion to the nation, your reverence for the institutions and State which secure our welfare, logically growing out of your reverence for the God of States, who ordained them.

To the future, sir, your thoughtful and stirring utterances of welcome justify a reference. This League, this building, these surroundings, grew out of a grand epoch—an epoch of cool, determined, inspired heroism. There will always be occasion for heroism. You had a physical rebellion to suppress. You had a material revolt to overthrow. You had actual living traitors marching under hostile banners, with guns in their hands, treason in their hearts, and death in their purposes, to crush and disarm—ought I not to say to hang? That drama closed at Appomattox. Yet, without being alarmists, we may serve a friendly, prompt and outspoken but peremptory warning upon the gentlemen who think they can unsettle the purposes of the North, aye rather the nation, as embodied in the constitutional amendments. They are the offerings of a brave and magnanimous people. These amendments must be obeyed in letter and spirit. Thirty millions of people, with organized governmental ideas, with organized society, with organized industries and trained moral forces, standing on what is right and just, will not submit to agitation—needless, dangerous and destructive to the common security and the public tranquillity—by the oligarchy which assumes to represent ten millions.

These gentlemen, these unlearning Bourbons, can more wisely

engage in reconstructing their industries, repairing the wastes of idleness, converting shot-guns into cotton-hoes, and developing an energetic, intelligent and law-abiding people behind them. They cannot force a "statesmanship" which the people hold cheap and revolutionary, and which they will never accept. With the friendly warning and challenge we will offer co-operation in their confessedly difficult social problem; we will offer them conciliation and peace; but we add the conditions which compel the enforcement of the inexorable demands of justice. These indications of what we mean may well come from a body of determined, patriotic, and earnest men like the Union League of Philadelphia.

A moral rebellion now threatens you. The obligations of the Constitution and laws are not assented to in wide districts. Government by the ballot, with equal political rights for all legal voters ordained by the authority of the National Union, is not permitted in every State of the National Union. Until Sumter and Kemper county, and Tensas parish, are as peaceful and just as Chester, and Lancaster, and Clearfield, the mission of this League remains unfinished, and its purposes are frustrated. Grounded thus in the sacred memories of the past, you will hold to your determination to maintain a vital and efficient connection with the serious affairs of the future. Exalting partisan politics to your own high level, you will insist on national brotherhood, through and by means of unity, liberty, and equal rights. As the man and men were found to throttle with physical force the rebellion at Appomattox, so the man and the men will be found to stifle this new conspiracy against the majesty and welfare of a mighty nation.

ADDRESS OF HON. M. RUSSELL THAYER.

The President of the League then called upon the Hon. M. Russell Thayer.

Judge Thayer said :

MR. PRESIDENT:—I scarcely know in what terms appropriate to so brilliant an occasion I can respond to the call with which you have honored me. While I heartily subscribe to the patriotic sentiments which have been uttered by our distinguished guest and by yourself, it is not, I apprehend, my place to-night to discuss political measures, but rather to leave such topics to be treated by others who are more recently conversant with them, and whose pursuits and associations render them more competent to deal with them. When William Penn landed at New Castle, in 1682, from the good ship *Welcome*, of which Robert Greenway was master, they gave him livery of seizin of his new possession, delivering to him, with due solemnity and according to feudal forms, twig and sod from the land, and water and fish and soil from the river. The ceremonies of the common law have become obsolete, but its principles remain deeply imbedded in the foundations of all our laws and political arrangements. It is in the spirit which animated the historic incident to which I have referred that we have assembled to-night to receive with becoming ceremony and to greet with unfeigned cordiality the newly-elected Governor of Pennsylvania. We cannot offer him livery of seizin with all the pomp and ceremony of that old-time custom, but we bring to him, nevertheless, the substance of all which that ancient sym-

bol typified. We offer him, as citizens of Philadelphia, our true and heartfelt allegiance, our sincere regard and unreserved confidence. Of these we give him corporal investiture and open and notorious possession. Our purpose is to express the high respect which we entertain for his character, to unite our congratulations at his elevation to this high office, and to assure him that in the discharge of the great duty which the people of this Commonwealth have imposed upon him of maintaining the Constitution and the laws, we intend to give him our undivided support. The people of this State have evinced their confidence in the new Governor in a very significant and emphatic manner. In a time of great party excitement, when, although the issues of the war had in a great measure faded from our sight, it was nevertheless perceived that other issues, kindred in character and of no less importance to the country, were about to arise, demanding the utmost vigilance, the wisest patriotism, and the most uncompromising firmness, they elected him to the highest office in the Commonwealth by a majority of more than 22,000. I say a majority of more than 22,000, because I do not count the scattering votes which were cast for greenback and other candidates. Their number is not disproportioned to the number of political maniacs who may naturally be expected to exist in a population of four millions and a quarter of souls. The causes which influenced and accomplished the large majority by which the newly-elected Governor was chosen are not difficult to be ascertained. He was a candidate in all respects fit to be made the leader and exponent of the great cause with which the integrity and salvation of the country have been indissolubly associated for the last eighteen years. He had defended as a soldier and had helped to save the Union and the Constitution; that Constitution which seemed again to be threatened with fresh dangers, more insidious but not less fatal than those from which it had been lately rescued by the blood and treasure of the loyal States. In private life the candidate was known as a citizen of exemplary virtue and public spirit, a man

Integer vitæ scelerisque purus,

who could be safely trusted with the honor and welfare of this great State not only in tranquil times, but also in times of public danger and popular excitement. A man who could be depended upon to execute the laws, and who in the discharge of the functions of his great office would take care that the Commonwealth should receive no detriment. It was in the strength of such a faith and in the full confidence that his past life had furnished an undoubted assurance of his integrity and patriotism that the people elected him by an overwhelming majority to be their Chief Magistrate. In that capacity he has already unfurled the broad banner of Pennsylvania, upon which is inscribed the undying devotion of her people to the Union and their determined purpose that equal laws and equal rights shall be enjoyed by all who dwell within its borders. One purpose of our presence here to-night is to assure him that we intend to support him with our whole power and with the whole weight of our influence and efforts in maintaining the principles of the Constitution—the whole Constitution, amendments and original articles.

The people of Pennsylvania have the reputation of being a somewhat phlegmatic people. It is true they are not easily excited by small things, or easily stirred up by trivial issues. But no people are more thoroughly in earnest upon questions which concern the integrity of the government, the maintenance of the traditional policy of our political system, and the preservation of the just balance of all its parts. They sent 400,000 soldiers to the field to maintain the Union, and they would be ready to send an equal or greater number again, if it should be necessary, to maintain the inviolability of the Constitution. They have not forgotten the unprecedented sacrifices of the war. They will not submit to be cheated by unconstitutional methods out of their just weight and voice in the government by the enemy whom they subdued in open war. They are not easily excited by small matters, but they are greatly moved by large ones, and when they move it is like the mountains shaken by an earthquake. Let no man trust their apathy upon great and vital questions affecting the integrity of the government.

If in the strife of sections or of parties the Constitution should be invaded and its barriers broken down, they will come to its support, by a common and simultaneous instinct, from their farms, their mines, and their workshops, as they came in '61.

I have alluded to William Penn. If there be in the whole course of the history of this State any greater name than his, I do not know it. The greatest of all Pennsylvanians is the original Pennsylvanian, the founder and lawgiver of this Commonwealth. If there be any man whose life and character are fit above all others to be taken as a pattern by a newly-inaugurated Governor of this State, it is the man who promulgated "The laws agreed upon in England," and who proclaimed "The Great Law" at Chester on the 7th day of the 10th month, in the year 1682. Let us pause for a moment on its majestic preamble :

"Whereas, the glory of Almighty God and the good of mankind is the reason and end of government, and therefore government itself is a venerable ordinance of God ; and forasmuch as it is principally desired and intended by the proprietary and governor, and the freemen of the province of Pennsylvania and territories thereunto belonging, to make and establish such laws as shall best preserve true Christian and civil liberty, in opposition to all unchristian, licentious and unjust practices, whereby God may have his due, Cæsar his due, and the people their due, from tyranny and oppression of the one side, and insolency and licentiousness of the other, so that the best and firmest foundation may be laid for the present and future happiness of both the governor and people of this province and their posterity "——.

It were well if those who have to deal with matters of government as public agents and officials would study the political writings of this great and pure man, who in his sentiments and theories of government was two hundred years in advance of the age in which he lived, who in the days of absolute power in England established in America a State based upon universal suffrage and the ballot, and who at a time when oppressive exactions and passive obedience were the order of the day in his own

country, wrote into the constitution of his new province these words, "No money or goods shall be raised upon, or paid by, any of the people of this province by way of public tax, custom, or contribution, but by a law for that purpose made. And whosoever shall levy, collect, or pay any money or goods contrary thereto, shall be held a public enemy to the province, and a betrayer of the liberties of the people." By no one have the principles of popular government been more justly or more eloquently set forth than by him. Take as an example this sentence from the preface to his Frame of Government—"We have contrived and composed the frame and laws of this government to the great end of all government, viz., to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience and the magistrates honorable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery." Or this: "Any government is free where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion."

On an occasion like the present it is not, I conceive, out of place to point to the character and principles of this great man as furnishing an example in the administration of public affairs which is not surpassed in excellence by any which is to be found in the history of this country.

In conclusion, let me say to the distinguished guest of this evening, the newly-elected Governor of Pennsylvania, as I think I am warranted in saying, on behalf of all who are here assembled, that we receive him under auspices which encourage us to hope that his administration will be prosperous and successful, as we feel assured that it will be wise, honorable and just. He possesses our entire confidence, and will receive our cordial co-operation and support. Whatever the future may disclose, whatever events may be in the bosom of the next four years, whether the voyage shall be peaceful or stormy, whether the ship shall sail over safe seas or in waters which flow among

the shining Cyclades beset with rocks and reefs, we are ready to go forward—

Cras ingens iterabimus æquor—

meeting every danger with fortitude, expecting a strong and steady hand to be upon the helm, and taking for our motto the words which the Roman poet ascribes to those who went forth from Salamis to found a new state—

Nil desperandum Teucro duce, et auspice Teucro.

ADDRESS OF HON. EDWARD McPHERSON.

Mr. McPherson, after some introductory remarks, said :

MR. PRESIDENT:—It is an instinct of our nature to exaggerate the importance of those influences which, immediately surrounding us and largely personal to us, are apt to exclude or at best belittle those which are more remote. And yet it appears to me that all thoughtful persons will assent to the propositions that the particular characteristic which marks the present era in the civilization of America is the greater publicity under which its developments and movements are proceeding; and that the quiet and healthful operation of those diverse forces which in union make up the splendid panorama of our political society, is chiefly due to the influence of the knowledge that over all, and around all, and through all, is the observant, the suspicious, the critical, sometimes the hypercritical eye of the journalism of the country. If it be true, as elementary writers agree, that the soul of republicanism in government is publicity; that unfaithful officials fear publicity in the proportion of their consciousness of guilt; that the faithful greet it in the proportion of their consciousness of fidelity; and that the great body of the people quietly repose in the security which it affords, in the proportion of their belief in its activity as a force, then become apparent the sphere and the responsibility of those who, placed in control of this great machinery, are constantly brought into close relations with the whole mass of our citizenship. To the eye of the man reared under different in-

stitutions from our own, whose philosophy is that of repression, which constantly refuses because afraid to grant even the simplest privileges, which, in a word, distrusts and denies what with us are regarded primary and essential rights—I say, to the eye of a man thus trained, nothing is so surprising and inexplicable as the self-control, the independence, the robustness, the self-reliance of the individual citizen in America. And yet these great qualities are not a creation, but are the heritage of liberty; are the growth of freedom; are the rich legacy from political conditions which have treasured and transmitted all that is valuable in the thought and action of those who have preceded us. Examining, however, the life and philosophy of preceding generations, and comparing them with our own, one can readily trace in the greater ease of our political action, in its wider scope, in the calmer movement, and in its greater unrestraint the influence of the principle to which I have adverted. As the light streams more clearly and glares more strongly on the pathway of society, its motion is found to be more equable, its variations less frequent, and its calm majesty less ruffled.

The chief power which has brought our nation to this remarkable stage of existence, Mr. President, is that exercised by the journalism of the country. By this I do not mean merely the journalists of the country—though their individual power in moulding opinion, affecting judgment, and controlling action is very great; but superadded to this, and probably greater than this, is the influence of the daily infiltration into the public mind of the daily facts of life—not merely of the life immediately around us, or within our country, but the facts which have made up, for each day, the life of every civilized nation of the globe. No man can estimate the power of this influence in suggesting thought, in confirming opinion, in establishing contentment, in creating desire, and in inciting to progress. As a civilizing influence, it is simply prodigious; and under it the world is rapidly educating itself to higher methods, to nobler ends, and to a better life. In a government like ours, this power is a vastly preponderating one, because the conditions are favoring. Every one reads. All are edu-

cated. Facilities for production abound. Newspapers are numerous, are under no ban, and are adapted to all tastes. And a civilizing process perpetually goes on. Sir, it is meet in an assembly like this that recognition of such a power should be made—not in compliment to those engaged in it, but in acknowledgment of the power for good to mankind which lies within it.

Here I might stop. But I ought not to forget that this picture, bright as it is, has its sad reliefs. We are not free from brutalizing elements, whose violence has not the poor excuse of ignorance. There are whole classes, even in America, who are without respect for the rights of others. There are whole regions which are distinguished for a criminal disregard of the rights of the innocent and the unfortunate. There is an entire section which has yet to learn, and to apply, the principle of our great declaration, that all men are created equal, and with an equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. There is a political philosophy which must be extirpated, however widely professed, because it is inconsistent with every distinguishing American principle, and with every honorable instinct of human nature. There is a cruelty which has fattened on every form of outrage to person and of injury to property. There is a recklessness which has defied every restraint with which society surrounds itself.

There is an avarice which grinds the faces of the dependent poor, which drives them homeless wanderers into the wilderness in search of peace and the right to enjoy the fruits of their labor, and which is making of the new exodus the most striking and suggestive, the most remarkable and conclusive, the most revolting and saddening fact of our rapidly-moving age. And there is an audacity which, emboldened by success and influenced by promise of power, advances defiantly to throttle the government itself, unless all the members of every branch thereof shall surrender their independence and agree to be subordinated to its insatiate demands.

Against the triumph of this defiling influence it is the duty of every lover of his country to make earnest effort. That

this power exists is the result of a grievous error, which had its origin in an unbelief of the possibility of such an outgrowth, and against which, at the time, the warnings of the sagacious men of the period were vainly uttered.

It was my fate, Mr. President, during all this period of reconstruction and restoration, to have been brought personally in contact with the public men who devised these measures; and as I remember how and through whom the teachings of Thaddeus Stevens—the most sagacious and the farthest-seeing of the whole line of American statesmen who flourished from 1860 to 1868—were undermined, sneered at, and departed from, I can trace to whose counsels are due the fatal departures which have brought about all this woe. Those errors are largely irretrievable—those mistakes are largely irreparable, except by sufferings which ought to have been saved, by injustice which ought to have been prevented, by debauchery and demoralization which ought to have been averted. But, sir, our duty lies not in repining over the past, but in forecasting the future, and in bravely meeting the duties which lie before us. It is the opportunity of this historic League to be as a light set upon a hill, to guide the people in the great struggle which lies before them. And I much mistake the spirit which animates its membership if it prove less efficient now, in preserving from the insidious attacks of embittered foes, who, conquered on the field, come back to legislative chambers with envenomed hearts to avenge their losses upon the victors, this great inheritance, which is doubly dear by reason of the great cost of its preservation.

Mr. McPherson was followed by General James A. Beaver, of Centre county, Hon. Benjamin Harris Brewster, ex-Governor Hartranft, and Hon. William Elliott, after which the company dispersed at midnight.

SUGGESTIONS REGARDING THE PRODUCTION

OF A

CORRECT GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL

MAP OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE aboriginal nomenclature of Pennsylvania has been frequently commended for its beauty and appropriateness. The Indian dialect spoken here was soft and liquid, and unusually free from the guttural sounds characteristic of the language elsewhere. Lackawanna, Susquehanna, Juniata, Monongahela, are names which, for euphony, are rarely equalled. The tendency of our people to change the Indian names—and the mispronunciation which is often equivalent to an entire change—are fast obliterating these original designations. Callapatshink is now known as the Yellow Breeches, Whopehawly as Wapwallopen, and the beautiful little stream called the Pema Pecha is corrupted into the Pennypack.

To arrest these changes, or at least to note them, is essential both as a matter of history, and a matter of geography.

A map, while it seems only to display an existing condition, may, however—and most truly—be called a herald of the approaching future. Who, for instance, can look upon the admirable work of Nicholas Scull, of 1759, with the various Indian Paths crossing the territory, and the chain of forts stretching along the advancing frontier, without clearly perceiving that two races were coming into hostile contact, and that in future years the conflict for superiority must ensue. That era has passed away, and with victory achieved by the civilized man, the plough has obliterated the mound over the remains of the

fallen warrior, while the graver's tool leaves on newer maps no trace of fort, or path, or Indian village. Like the Swedish names on Lindstrom's map—produced more than a century earlier than Scull's—they have been swept away by the tide of mighty progress which has left but a portion of their débris in libraries, those quiet eddies of the flood.

Thoughts like these would seem to have moved our late associate, Mr. J. Francis Fisher, to offer his resolutions of December 12, 1853, for the appointment of a committee to collect and prepare material for the restoration of Indian names; and, subsequently, our fellow-member, Mr. Peter W. Sheaffer, of Pottsville, to undertake the preparation of a historical map of Pennsylvania. The latter work—commenced without a previous knowledge of Mr. Fisher's proposal—has since had incorporated with it the information that resulted from that earlier effort. In the spring of 1873, this map was thought to be in a fit condition to be engraved, so that impressions might be sent to gentlemen in every part of the State, with a request that they would make such additions as might be within their power. This has been done, and with such admirable results as to lead to the hope that more may yet be accomplished. The map, with much that is valuable, but with defects best appreciated by those who have prepared it, is soon to be issued, with the view of its being used as a medium, and, as is believed, the best—if not at present the only possible one—for the acquisition of further historical and geographical information from aged surveyors and others whose knowledge, if not thus obtained, must soon be buried with themselves.

The only method by which an entirely correct map can be made is by the system of triangulation which has produced for England a map of wonderful perfection, but at a cost which it would not be advisable for Pennsylvania at present to incur. As, however, it is imperative that we should do something at once, a plan has been matured which it is believed will, at a moderate cost, and in no great length of time, result in a map comparatively perfect, and which will possess the great advantage of being in a condition to have engraved, in their proper

places, the results of future surveys as they may be made. Of all the people of Pennsylvania, none will more fully appreciate the usefulness of such a map than those who are engaged in developing our mineral productions. These—already vast in their magnitude—are destined to become far more so, and their proper development depends on a thorough geological knowledge which can hardly be attained, and certainly cannot be communicated, without the aid of correct topography.

Material brought together without regard to the relation the various parts bear to each other, cannot, of course, be correctly plotted by draftsmen. It is because of this that map publishers are not only better aware than others, but also regret it more, that all our maps are filled with radical errors. County lines are incorrectly and variously laid down, the courses of streams are most inaccurately given, and mountain gaps, the debouchement of streams, and the names of places, are sometimes miles from the true points. As it is not possible—owing to the want of reliable data—to correct these errors, it would seem to be necessary to have the results of very extensive surveys to serve as a base to work from, and it is the object of this paper to show where much of the desired material already exists, how easily it may be used, and how little additional work need be performed, in order to produce a really good and useful map of Pennsylvania. It may be added here that, owing to the devious course of the river Delaware, the delineation of the territory of New Jersey adds so little to the length of a map of Pennsylvania, that its incorporation may be considered almost a matter of course.

The whole of the coast of New Jersey, and the navigable waters of the Delaware and its tributaries, have been surveyed, and maps thereof have been made by the United States Coast Survey. The southern boundary line of Pennsylvania, run by Mason and Dixon, the western line by David Rittenhouse, Andrew Porter, Andrew Ellicott, Joseph Neville, and Alexander McClean, and the northern line by Andrew Ellicott, James Clinton, and Simeon DeWitt, have been determined; but as the expense would be very little, it would be proper to further

test their accuracy by running telegraphic wires to a very few points, the southeastern, southwestern, northwestern, and northeastern corners of the State, and by this certain method, ascertain the latitude and longitude of the points marked by the monuments of the surveyors.

The means, then, are within easy reach for acquiring accuracy as to the outline of the territory of the State, and it is fortunate that the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, Professor Pearce, is now engaged in running a line from San Francisco through St. Louis to Philadelphia, so that a further means of verification is at hand. With ease, chronometers and the telegraphic wires may be used in many hundreds of places throughout our territory, to ascertain with precision the longitude at numerous points. Under an Act of Congress, the Superintendent of the Coast Survey is required to determine points of triangulation for every State which shall make suitable provision for its own geological and topographical surveys. This would be a valuable assistance in the work, we suggest, and would materially reduce the cost of it.

When this portion of the work shall have been thoroughly accomplished, and its results reduced to an entirely accurate skeleton map, advantage may be taken—at a small cost, also—of the elaborate and extensive surveys of the various railroads and canals which traverse the country in every direction. This would at once secure an astonishing amount of accurate topographical and geographical knowledge. Some counties, too, have had accurate surveys, which, of course, should be added. After the work shall have reached this condition, it would be desirable that county lines—where they may be uncertain and defective—should be run, and this is the only portion of the work that would involve much expenditure, not, however, to an amount that would be of serious importance.

When the work above mentioned shall have been plotted, the map should be engraved on copper, and the plates preserved. Electrotypes may be made, from which an edition of the map, in its condition as a result of actual surveys, should be issued. These would be invaluable to surveyors and others, and

would be used to record the results of future surveys, which would thus be intelligently and more speedily incorporated with the previous similar work. Map publishers would at once eagerly avail themselves of trustworthy data to improve the character of their productions. Counties, no doubt, would soon have proper surveys made, which being placed on the plate appertaining to the particular section, would not only at the earliest moment meet the wants of the residents thereof, but would also add to the correctness of the general map of the State. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that but a few years would elapse—should this plan be rigidly adhered to—before there would exist a map of our entire territory made from actual surveys. In no instance should any mark be permitted to be made upon the plates, except as the result of a survey made, for it is the admixture of the inexact with the ascertained that makes all alike unreliable, and renders it necessary to go over the whole work every time a new map may be contemplated, for, as maps have heretofore been made, no one is able to tell what portion is from a survey, and what from mere conjecture. The blanks showing no survey to have been made, would thus be equally important with the parts filled up, for they would point where work was yet to be performed.

The general maps of the United States Coast Survey are on a scale tested by experience, and found to be the smallest that can prove convenient, that of one mile to an inch. This, too, has been adopted by the Ordnance Survey for the general map of England. The space thus afforded is not more than sufficient for the multiplicity of names in a densely populated country, a condition that Pennsylvania is approaching. To this may be added a custom of our country—the substitution of new names for old ones—which, even when unadvisable to be retained, should at least be preserved, for the knowledge of that which has been, as well as of that which is, should be easily accessible to all the people of the State. It ought to be that they should be able to find in every school-house such a map as is aimed at in this paper, one that—while physically correct—should be truly historical in its character, bearing upon it every

name that has ever been applied to a place either by the Indians, the Swedes, the Dutch, the English, or by ourselves; the name of every fort, and site of every battle, the location of the various tribes of Indians, and the paths of their intercourse, the boundaries of purchase under the various treaties, the routes of the armies of Braddock, Armstrong, Forbes, and Bouquet, of Sullivan and Wayne, and of Lee and Meade, the dates of important events, and the places of birth of men whose arms or inventions, or whose virtues, have added lustre to the State they served.

The mode heretofore pursued in producing a map of the State was the best that could be devised, but it is a method no longer proper, for within the past half century nearly six thousand miles of railroads and canals have been constructed within our territory, and the best authority in the State computes the cost of the surveys for these purposes—made at the lower rate of compensation that prevailed in days now past—to have amounted to not less than one million of dollars. To this vast sum may be added the expenditure for similar work in New Jersey, and that upon the Coast Survey, and it is easy to believe the entire amount does not fall short of one and a half million of dollars, a sum carefully and most moderately estimated, and without considering the cost of municipal and county surveys. The results of this enormous expenditure have never been scientifically used in producing our maps. They exist, however, in manuscript, scattered among the offices of the respective companies, and by a person thoroughly competent, may be brought together, and placed on a map with entire accuracy at the cost of a very few thousands of dollars. If, however, the work is to be done, and to stand as an unquestioned authority, it can only be—as has been already said—by adhering to an inflexible rule that nothing except a result of actual survey should go upon the map of the government, leaving the ordinary map publishers to supply the work of conjecture. This rule, as it would result in blank spaces, would more forcibly than any words, proclaim the fields where surveys were yet to be made, and thus while

error would be avoided, the place would be distinctly displayed where truth was yet to be ascertained.

It may be suggested that the plates of such a map should be deposited with the Historical Society, with the view that additions from future surveys, as well as further restorations of names, should be made from time to time, under the joint authority of the officers of the State and of the Society.

